

Message Text

SECRET

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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF APRIL 4, 1975

(SALT TWO-593)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON
AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF APRIL 4, 1975.

QUOTE

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON

APRIL 4, 1975

MR. MINISTER:

I

FROM THE OUTSET OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS FOR THE NEW AGREEMENT,
THE U.S. DELEGATION HAS STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE U.S.
ATTACHES TO THE SUBJECT OF VERIFICATION. I HAVE STATED THAT
THE NEW AGREEMENT MUST BE FORMULATED SO AS TO ASSURE ADEQUATE
VERIFICATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS OF COMPLIANCE WITH
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ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT, INCLUDING THE MIRV LIM-

TATION.

THE U.S. HAS GIVEN SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE SUBJECT OF MIRV VERIFICATION BECAUSE OF THE DIFFICULTY OF THIS NEW ASPECT OF THE OVERALL VERIFICATION PROBLEM, AND BECAUSE OF THE IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING MISUNDERSTANDINGS DURING THE LIFE OF THE AGREEMENT WITH REGARD TO THIS KEY QUALITATIVE LIMITATION.

II

IN THE COURSE OF THESE NEGOTIATIONS I HAVE POSED SOME SPECIFIC QUESTIONS WHICH THE U.S. HAS IDENTIFIED WITH RESPECT TO VERIFYING COMPLIANCE WITH THE MIRV LIMITATION, AND HAVE SUGGESTED SOME POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS ILLUSTRATED BY THESE QUESTIONS. I HAVE SOLICITED THE VIEWS OF THE SOVIET SIDE WITH REGARD TO THE SOLUTIONS WE OFFERED, AND HAVE INVITED IT TO RAISE ANY PROBLEMS IT PERCEIVED WITH REGARD TO ITS ABILITY TO VERIFY COMPLIANCE WITH THE MIRV LIMITATION. THE SOVIET RESPONSE WAS TO REJECT THE SOLUTIONS OFFERED BY THE U.S., AND TO ASSERT THAT THE PROVISIONS OF ARTICLE XV OF THE SOVIET DRAFT BY THEMSELVES SUFFICED TO MEET THE SOVIET REQUIREMENTS AND SHOULD SUFFICE TO MEET THE U.S. REQUIREMENTS. THE SOVIET SIDE HAS THUS STATED THAT IT PERCEIVES NO PROBLEMS REGARDING ITS ABILITY ADEQUATELY TO VERIFY COMPLIANCE WITH THE MIRV LIMITATION.

ALTHOUGH THE SOVIET SIDE STATES THAT IT IS SATISFIED IN THIS REGARD, THE U.S. SIDE IS NOT. THE U.S. HAS TABLED A DRAFT AGREEMENT WHICH CONTAINS PROVISIONS FORMULATED TO PROVIDE SOLUTIONS TO THE PROBLEMS WHICH THE U.S. PERCEIVES IN ITS ABILITY ADEQUATELY TO VERIFY COMPLIANCE WITH THE MIRV LIMITATION BY NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS. IN THE COURSE OF MY EXPOSITION OF THE U.S. DRAFT, I AGAIN NOTED THAT THE SOLUTIONS WE HAVE OFFERED TO THESE PROBLEMS MAY NOT BE THE ONLY ONES. FURTHER, I REPEATED THAT WE SHOULD WELCOME ANY ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES WHICH WOULD PROVIDE MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS, AND I ASSURED YOU THAT SUCH PROPOSALS WOULD BE GIVEN CAREFUL CONSIDERATION BY THE U.S.

THE SOVIET SIDE, IN COMMENTING ON THE PROBLEMS OF MIRV VERIFICATION WHICH THE U.S. PERCEIVES, HAS STATED THAT BY USING
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A VARIETY OF NATIONAL TECHNICAL MEANS TO MAKE SYSTEMATIC OBSERVATIONS, AND BY ACCUMULATING AND PROCESSING STATISTICAL DATA, THE SIDES CAN OVER A PERIOD OF TIME BECOME CONFIDENT THAT THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT, INCLUDING THE MIRV LIMITATION, ARE NOT BEING VIOLATED. WE HAVE STUDIED CAREFULLY THESE SUGGESTIONS. HOWEVER, IT IS NOT A QUESTION OF WHETHER IN THE COURSE OF TIME THE U.S. MIGHT BE ABLE TO DEVELOP SUCH CONFIDENCE, BUT RATHER OF WHETHER THE U.S. CAN BE ASSURED BEFORE

ENTERING INTO THE NEW AGREEMENT THAT IT WILL BE ADEQUATELY VERIFIABLE THROUGHOUT ITS ENTIRE LIFE. THE SOVIET SUGGESTIONS DO NOT PROVIDE US WITH SUCH ASSURANCE.

THEREFORE, THE U.S. DELEGATION REGRETS THAT ON MARCH 27 THE SOVIET DELEGATION STATED THAT THE MIRV VERIFICATION SOLUTIONS CONTAINED IN THE U.S. DRAFT WERE UNACCEPTABLE, AND FAILED TO OFFER ANY ALTERNATIVES.

III

MR. MINISTER, I WANT TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE SOVIET REJECTION OF THE PROPOSED U.S. SOLUTIONS DOES NOT ELIMINATE THE PROBLEMS WHICH THE U.S. DELEGATION HAS RAISED. I WANT TO REAFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE WHICH THE U.S. ATTACHES TO FORMULATING THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT SO THAT EACH SIDE WILL BE CONFIDENT, UPON ENTERING INTO THE AGREEMENT, THAT ADEQUATE VERIFICATION CAN BE ASSURED THROUGHOUT THE ENTIRE LIFE OF THE AGREEMENT. A REJECTION OF THE U.S. SOLUTION, WITHOUT SUGGESTING ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS, FAILS TO MOVE OUR NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD TOWARD A MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY FORMULATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW AGREEMENT.

IN SUM, THE U.S. VIEWS VERIFICATION OF THE MIRV LIMITATION AS A KEY ELEMENT OF THE NEW AGREEMENT. ACCORDINGLY, I WANT TO EMPHASIZE THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS TO THE SPECIFIC MIRV VERIFICATION PROBLEMS WHICH WE HAVE IDENTIFIED REMAINS ESSENTIAL TO THE NEW AGREEMENT. CONSEQUENTLY, I URGE RENEWED CONSIDERATION OF THESE PROBLEMS BY YOUR SIDE.
UNQUOTE JOHNSON

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